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A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV).

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143).

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons

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TABLE II

Basic Units of Social Traditional Organization Among the Berber-speakers of Morocco

Social Units	Berber Ethnic Groups			
	Shluh	Beraber	Riffian	Zenata
Nuclear Family	*Taka, takat, kanoun* ("hearth")	*kanoun* ("hearth")	*nubth* ("turn")	
Patrilineal Extended Family	*tigemmi, adouar*	*adham* ("bone"), *rif* ("edge")	*azwar* ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu, jll*	*tighssat*
Minor Lineage (constituting either a village or a village segment)	*ikhs* ("bone"), *afus* ("hand")	*asoun, tigemmi* or *adouar, tighst*	*ikhs* ("bone"), *tarfiqth*	*ikhs* ("bone")
Major Lineage or Commune (usually constituted of both related and unrelated lineages)	*mouda* ("village, place")	*ikhs* ("bone"), *fakhda*	*arrba* ("fourth"), *fariqath*	*lferqa*
District	*taqbilt* ("district") *khums* ("fifth")	*khums* ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* / *thakhammasth* } ("fifth")	*rebaa* ("fourth")
Tribe	*taqbilt*	*taqbilt, qabila*	*zakoir, thakabitch, qabila*	*taqbilt*
Confederation	(no name)	(no name)	(no name)	*idrasen*

594 596 613 621 631 192 171

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and their wives and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. 596 • Under the rule of patrilocal residence, married daughters go to live 596 with their husband's families, and though they may visit their 591 parents whenever they wish they are counted with the husband's family in questions of loyalty (Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38; Beneitez-Cantero, 1952, p. 195; Celerier, 1948, p. 103; Coon, 1931, p. 90; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 143-144; Murdock, 1955, p. 140).

The extended family usually resides in a single dwelling, this dwelling being expanded from time to time to accomodate newly married couples. Among the Shluh of the southern Atlas this family [192] is designated after the nature of its dwelling; thus, families living in stone houses are designated by the term *tigemmi*, and those living in mud houses by the term *adouar* (Berque, 1955, p. 36; Doutte, 1905). Among the Beraber the extended family is usually known as an *adham* ("bone") or as a *rif* ("edge") (Abes, 1917, p. 184; Querleux, 1915, p. 21). The Riffians refer to it variously as an *azwar* (pl. *azuran*) ("vein" or "penis"), *sajghu* (pl. *isujgha*), or *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*) (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, p. 59; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 13). The Zenata designate it by the term *tighssat* (pl. *tighssatin*) (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

This patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and agnatic extended 596 family constitutes a fundamental unit of Berber life; it is the basic domestic, economic, and legal entity. These functions are carried [562] out despite the fact that the extended family is sharply divided into the sex-groups, with men and women practically constituting two distinct "societies" – each with its own traditions, beliefs, practices, and even language. Men and women usually remain separate even [361] in work parties and in the seasonal migrations. The extended family is a very strong social unit among all the Berber tribes, particularly so in the Beraber country, where this fact is illustrated by the members forming a single tent group ("tent circle") during the seasonal migrations (Abes, 1917, pp. 184, 187; Berque, 1955, pp. 34-38, 337-339; Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Querleux, 1915, pp. 12, 21; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

The functioning of the extended family has been well described •••

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by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wariyaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to

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some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536).

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances,

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those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however.

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lnud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-